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ABSTRACT

The general aim of this longitudinal investigation is to characterize the interactions that preschool children have with written communication. Specifically, an attempt has been made to describe (1) the literacy resources available to particular children, (2) the frequency and organization of literacy events in their lives, (3) the functions which literacy serves for them, and (4) the quality of their literacy environments. The sample for the first year of this ongoing study consisted of 12 low income children and their families. The families represented three ethnic groups--Anglo, Black, and Mexican-American. Reportable results were obtained with 10 of the children. Naturalistic observation, self-report, and controlled behavior sampling techniques were employed to gather data. Only findings from the naturalistic observations are discussed in this report. Current foci of research activities are microanalyses of interaction in the construction of reading and writing activities, parent and sibling effectiveness in negotiating the child's zone of proximal development in literacy events, and possible relationships between use of literacy materials and culture. (Author/RH)

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How Preschoolers Interact with Written Communication

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Paper presented at the 30th National Reading Conference, San Diego, December, 1980

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Children in the United States bring to school with them their experience of living in a literate society. The general aim of the research discussed here is to characterize the interactions with written communication which preschool children have. Specifically we are attempting to describe the literacy resources available to particular children, the frequency and organization of literacy events in their lives, the functions which literacy serves for them, and the quality of their literacy environments. Such a description will help in understanding what these children learn in reading and writing as well as the ways in which they learn it.

The approach adopted in this work is a socio-cultural-psycholinguistic one. That is to say, we view reading and writing as socio-cultural in nature because we believe that (a) written language is a socially created symbol system which changes with the form of society and the level of its cultural development (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978), (b) that one becomes literate in interactions with others (Teale, 1981), (c) that, being a set of practices which have certain social meanings and play a certain role in the development and maintenance of social order, literacy is a component of social structure (Reder & Green, 1979) and (d) that the nature of literacy is determined by the norms and needs of a particular cultural group and accomplished in terms of those norms and needs (Heath, in press; Reder & Green, 1979; Scollon & Scollon, 1979; Scribner & Cole, 19? ; in press). At the same time we conceive of reading and writing as being psycholinguistic in nature because we assume that the essence of literacy is meaningful communication, an assumption which implies that literacy needs to be studied not as an abstraction but rather in terms of the processes involved in constructing the meanings of written language (read-

ing) and encoding meanings in written language (writing) (Goodman, 1976; Smith, 1978).

These assumptions about literacy and literacy learning have direct bearing on our methods of studying how reading and writing develop in preschoolers. Because we view literacy as a social as well as a psychological phenomenon, we are interested not only in the processes of the individual child as he or she engages in reading- or writing-like situations but also in the ways in which the child interacts with others in his/her daily environment in the social construction of literacy events. We study literacy, then, in the contexts in which it occurs in order to understand how the contexts are organized and how particular practices relate to the child's development of literacy. Thus, naturalistic research techniques are of primary importance; we observe what the children and others in their environments do with literacy. We pay special attention to the ways in which literacy environments are constructed in interactions between the children and the individuals around them who are more skilled in reading and writing. A central concern is characterizing the nature of those interactions.

Observation of children in their everyday environments leads to a better understanding of how social and cultural factors affect learning to read and write. We also gather data in more controlled, experimental-like situations designed to externalize certain of their developing conceptions of reading and writing which other wise we may not have the opportunity to observe. However, even what is learned about the children in these situations is interpreted in terms of knowledge gained from the ongoing observations. In short, the overall aim is to understand the process of becoming literate in conjunction

with the natural environment of those engaged in this process. Our foci in this endeavor are the contexts, conceptions, functions and attitudes related to literacy as they can be observed and elicited in the normal daily environments of children between the ages of two and one-half and five and one-half years old.

Sample

The sample for the first year of the study included twelve low income children and their families, four families representing each of three ethnic groups--Anglo, Black and Mexican-American. Low income children are the focus of the study because, as a group, such children (especially if they are low income children of color) experience particular difficulty learning to read and write in school. We hope to gain insight into why this is the case by investigating the experiences of living in a literate society which these children bring to school with them. Three ethnic groups are represented in the sample because, in addition to our attention to socio-economic factors, we are also interested in cultural factors which bear on preschool children's socialization into literacy.

During the year we were able to work with only 10 of these 12 children long enough to obtain reportable results. Therefore, the remainder of this article will focus on these children:

	Anglo	Black	Mexican-American
Sex (Age at outset)	M (3.10) F (3.7) F (2.4)	F (3.7) F (3.6) F (2.8)	F (3.5) M (3.3) M (2.9) M (2.5)

The ten families year had from 3 to 7 members (see Table 1 for details on family members), and their incomes were all well below $10,000. None of the adults in the families had earned more than a high school diploma. These 10 families are continuing their participation in the second year of the study, and new families have been added to bring the total number of preschoolers being studied in 1980-81 to 24.

Method

In order to characterize the children's interactions with written communication and what they learn in reading and writing, we employ three data gathering techniques: (1) naturalistic observation, (2) self-report and (3) controlled behavior samplings.

Naturalistic observations. Each family in the study has been the subject of four hours of observation per week. The observation is intended to be as unobtrusive as possible, the researcher initiating no interaction with members of the family but responding as appropriate. Observations are varied across times of the day and days of the week so that as representative as possible a picture of the daily activities of the target child might be obtained. These observations inform us about the family and community contexts within which literacy events occur. We attempt to describe the literacy materials available to the child and the organization of literacy activities.

The focal point of the data collection in the observations is the literacy event. We have defined the literacy event as any action sequence, involving one or more persons, in which the production and/or comprehension of print plays a role.

This definition works quite well for most of the adults and certain of the school-age children in the families. However, none of the children in our sample is presently capable of reading or writing in a formally defined sense. Yet we do wish to capture those events which are precursors of the "normal" idea of reading and writing. Therefore, our notion of the literacy event includes occasions upon which the child interacts with literacy materials in such a way that s/he acts as if s/he is reading or writing. That is to say, if a child, for example, renders an oral version of a book (even though that version bears little resemblance to the print on the pages) or writes a shopping list in various squiggles, we consider such activities as literacy events.

Our description of a literacy event includes the activities which lead up to, happen subsequent to and co-occur or alternate with the reading and/or writing themselves. And, of course, we detail as completely as possible the reading or writing behaviors. From descriptions of this type we attempt to draw conclusions about the contexts which are literacy for our families.

Self-report. One caretaker in each family was asked to report all literacy events that the target child was seen to take part in on the days that the researcher was not observing. Audio recorders were provided as the means for keeping this 'taped diary.' These self-reports tell us how parents define literacy events, and they provide an indication of what occurs in the literacy environment when we cannot be present.

Controlled behavior samplings. The controlled behavior samplings present a common set of literacy experiences to all subjects in the study. The

children's behaviors in these experiences provide us with information about individual and cultural diversity in response to situations involving reading and writing.

We use four different methods for gathering this type of data. One is a Print Awareness Task which provides information about a child's sensitivity to and recognition of environmental print. The child is asked to identify increasingly decontextualized words and labels that commonly occur in his or her surroundings. This procedure derives from Ylisto's (1967) research and is like that used by Goodman & Cox (1979) and Harste, Burke & Woodward (in press) in their work.

Another task employed is Book Handling. The researcher, in reading a book to and with the target child is able to discover what the child knows about the conventions of books and the print that appears in them. This task has been derived from the Sand test produced by Clay (1972) and adapted by David Doake, Yetta Goodman and Bess Altwerger. [See Goodman & Cox (1979) for a complete description.]

Two writing tasks are also used. One is modelled after that employed by Luria (1929/1977-78) who was concerned with charting the development of the child's realization that a graphic system can represent meanings and thereby act as a mnemonic device. Following his procedures, we engage the children in memory tasks that are too difficult for them to accomplish alone and note the ways in which they use writing (in their cases idiosyncratic systems) to help them remember.

The other writing task is that discussed by Ferreiro (1978) which examines the child's conceptions of a culturally elaborated writing system (either English or Spanish). From this interview we are attempting to describe the children's developing understandings about what is written in a written text.

Results

Because data from the audio-taped diaries and interviews require a longer collection period before they can be analyzed, the results discussed in this paper stem only from what has been found in the naturalistic observations.

Literacy Materials. One of the first things described from the observations is the literacy materials available to each of the families in the study. These materials are of interest because the types of materials which the adults (and older siblings) use and to which our target children have access play an important role in the overall literacy environment of each family. Materials in both the home and the community are taken into account. By detailing the materials available and noting how they are used, it is possible to characterize more completely the literacy environment of each child and the role which materials play in the child's socialization into literacy.

Table 1 summarizes the materials found in each of the homes. It can be seen that there are great differences among families, both in the amount and in the types of materials present. Environmental print--product labels, mail advertisements, print appearing on television, names on stores and other buildings, etc.--is quite similar across the various communities in which the children live. However, examples of connected discourse vary widely. Some

families (Anglo 1, 2, 3; Black 2; Chicano 4) have a variety of books appropriate for and available to the target children. Others have few or none.

The amount and types of adult material vary also. In general, relatively few adult books (either fiction or non-fiction) can be found in the homes. An exception to this finding is Anglo Family 3, where the mother, though she did not own many books, makes use of friends and the library to always have a novel available for her personal reading. Other adult materials such as magazines and newspapers appear with greater frequency, though these also are not in great supply. Only the guide to television programs occurs with regularity in the homes. Of interest also in regard to the adult materials is Black Family 3 where religious materials constitute virtually all of the connected discourse present in the home. There are now two other families involved in the study in which a similar situation exists, and we are paying close attention to the consequences of such a circumstance on the target child's socialization into literacy.

Also notable is the role of older brothers and sisters in affecting the literacy materials in these homes. Five of our target children have older siblings who are in school; in three of these families the reading materials brought home from school represent virtually all of the textual materials present.

Finally, we have examined the writing materials available to the children. In all of the homes there are some writing instruments and some paper. It is common in most families, however, that when the target children want to write or draw, a pen/pencil or, more often, paper is difficult to locate and must be searched for. The exception to this is Anglo Family 2 which has

organized a special place for the child's writing instruments and always has plenty of paper available. Thus, ease of access to writing materials varies across families. Furthermore, it appears that ease of access correlates with amount of time spent writing by the target child. We shall continue to investigate this relationship during the current year and attempt to determine if the relationship between these two factors is a causal one.

The finding that this correlation exists leads to consideration of the issue of salience of materials. Table 1 describes the literacy materials present in the homes; our observations have led us to hypothesize that presence and salience are not necessarily synonymous. The distinction between the two can be illustrated by referring to Anglo Family 1, the Rookers, and Anglo Family 3, the Davidsons. The Rookers have in their home, relative to the other families in the study, a large number of literacy materials for the target child. However, these materials do not really play a central role in the environment of the child. They are kept in a box in the bottom of the closet. In comparison the Davidsons have fewer materials present for Kristin, the target child, but the mother has set aside a shelf in Kristin's room for her books. As a result, these materials are more 'in the way'. Interestingly, Kristin's books are a more central facet of her daily activities. Such a situation also exists in Black Family 3 where Kasele, the target child, has her books kept on a prominent shelf in her sister's room. It seems almost that this arrangement 'reminds' Kasele that literacy events are an alternative in which she can participate. Thus, literacy materials for Kasele and Kristin seem to be more salient features of their environments.

In another paper (Teale, 1981) I have argued that a literacy environment is essentially a social rather than a physical phenomenon. The distinction between presence and salience serves as an example of this point. Merely to describe the print which exists around the child is not sufficient for characterizing the child's print environment. It is important to realize that the child actively processes the print around him/her; however it is equally important to realize that print is in varying ways organized and arranged for the child by others. Advertisers attempt to make environmental print in the community salient for all of us. Parents likewise play an important role in affecting the salience of literacy materials in the home. Of course, the creation of saliency of literacy materials is intimately bound with the use of those materials by both the parents and other members of the family and by the target child. This is a point that will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

Let us first summarize what has been found with respect to literacy materials in the children's environments. A primary finding is that a great range in the amount and the types of materials is found among the families. Were the trends found in this limited sample to generalize, it would be found that, in comparison with middle class families, low income families, on the whole, encounter typical environmental print to the same degree but have fewer books, newspapers, magazines, writing materials, and so forth available. However, the individual differences which exist among the families must always be kept in mind for they are integral to any attempt to characterize the materials present.

Uses of literacy materials. The description of materials provides only partial insight into the literacy environments of the homes. The uses of literacy materials must also be characterized. In the attempt to do so, we have, for each family and each ethnic group, charted the frequency of literacy events observed and the amount of time spent in those events, described the ways in which the events are constituted (the participants and materials involved; the way in which each event is organized) and attended to the functions for which reading and writing are used. There is not space here to discuss in detail these findings for each target child; instead more generalized results which are emerging will be noted.

Analysis of the frequency of literacy events reveals that there is a wide range among families, both in the number of events and in the amount of time spent reading and writing. To enable comparison across families we shall present these quantitative data in terms of average number of events per hour during observation and average time spent in reading and writing per hour.

Among the target children Vicki, the girl in Anglo Family 2 tops the list on all frequency counts. She participated in an average of .89 reading and 1.08 writing events per hour and spent an average of 18.70 minutes of every hour (7.53 minutes of reading and 11.17 minutes of writing) engaged in literacy activities. On the other end of the spectrum is the target child in Chicano Family 2, where the mother is, for all intents and purposes, illiterate. This child participated in an average of .07 reading and .03 writing events per hour for an average time of .67 minutes per hour involved in literacy events.

It could be argued that Vicki's case is a most unusual one, and indeed we feel it is. However, even when the results for Vicki are disregarded, the great range in frequencies still exists among the target children, as is evidenced in this summary:

	Range in average number of events per hour of of observation	Average number of minutes per hour engaged in
Reading	.06 - .48	.15 - 5.66
Writing	.03 - .19	.15 - 2.64

We have also noted the literacy events for which each target child is present but in which she or he does not participate. An example would be an occasion upon which the parent is writing a check or reading the newspaper and the child is able to see the parent doing so. Gathering this information gives us a more complete indication of the literacy contexts to which the children are exposed in their daily lives. As may be expected from the previous discussion, there is a corresponding range in the amount and types of these activities by the other members of the families. The average amount of time spent in literacy activities ranges from 5.82 minutes per hour (Anglo Family 3) to .53 minutes per hour (Chicano Family 1), with the median being 1.15 minutes per hour.

Thus, the frequency of literacy activities in the child's life varies greatly across these families. We regard these frequencies as important because in looking to them as indices of (a) the amount of practice the child receives in reading and writing and (b) the amount of time devoted to literacy

activities in the family, we obtain additional insight into the literacy environment of each child.

Not only the quantitative aspects of literacy events are necessary for adequate characterization of the nature of the child's literacy environment, however. The assumptions about the nature of literacy upon which this research is based suggest that any attempt to understand the uses of literacy materials must focus also on the ways in which literacy events are organized, viz., on the participants in the events and the ways in which the events are transacted, because this social organization will have important consequences for the literacy development of the child.

A case in point can be found with Vicki, the target child in Anglo Family 2. Vicki is involved in literacy events far more frequently than the rest of the target children, and on the average she spends at least 2.9 times as much time reading and writing as any other child being observed. Yet, her literacy conceptions and abilities are not as far advanced as several of our other preschoolers. Why this should be the case is of great interest to us. One explanation relates to the individual child, i.e., that she does not have the native intelligence of the other children. Another possibility is that the quality of her literacy experiences and her literacy environment are different from those of other children.

We are conducting detailed examinations of how each target child and other, more 'literacy-experienced' members of the household interact on particular occasions to construct reading and writing activities. We regard these examinations, or microanalyses, as a key source of information in the endeavor to understand a child's literacy environment, for they provide

insight into the nature of the orientation to literacy which each child is developing. That is to say, it is possible to note, for example, the affective, or motivational, factors which are bound with literacy events in a family, the extent to which and ways in which the child's insight that print is meaningful is developed, the notions of the nature and functions of written language which are being developed, how the child develops knowledge of the conventions of print, and the strategies for accomplishing reading and writing which are being learned. These and other types of information gleaned from the microanalyses aid in characterizing the "natural" daily literacy environment of the child.

This "natural" environment varies from family to family, both in terms of what the literacy practices are and in terms of how effective the more skilled members of the family are at focusing the child toward developmental levels of literacy not yet reached. Of special importance on this latter point is the notion of zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978; Brown & French, 1979). Our hypothesis is that the more effective the parent or sibling is at negotiating the child's zone of proximal development in literacy events, the more effectively the child will learn to read and write.

Essentially, then, we are examining the literacy events as they occur in the daily family routine and attempting to describe the characteristics and outcomes of the interactions for each child. Harste & Burke (1977) have argued that in school theoretical orientation affects both instruction and learning in reading; we are interested to know what bearing different types of literacy interactions in the home have on the children's literacy set.

It is still too early to draw any conclusions on these points, however. Literacy interactions that are qualitatively different have certainly been observed in the families. For example, parents read differently to children; the amount of more formal, school-like literacy events varies from home to home. It remains now to develop more completely a means of describing those differences and to assess any effects those differences have on the children.

Another area which we are investigating is any relationship which may hold between the use of literacy materials and culture. Recent research has demonstrated that the practice of literacy may vary from cultural group to cultural group. Scollon & Scollon (1979, 1980) found that Athabaskan children were socialized into a different orienation to literacy that was their own white mainstream American daughter. They argue that Athabaskan literacy differs structurally from the prose style of essayist literacy, the form which is largely taught and learned through formal schooling. Scribner & Cole (1978; in press) also discovered variance in the practice of literacy, in this case among the Vai people of West Africa. They found that in this country there existed a Qur'anic literacy, which employed Arabic script, English alphabetic literacy, and an indigenous Vai literacy which employed an independently invented syllabic system. Each of these literacies has its distinctive features and is used for particular functions in the society. In her research with different cultural groups within the United States Heath (1980) found that ". . . literacy has different meanings for members of different groups, with a variety of acquisition modes, functions and uses . . . ." (p. 132).

Thus, a cultural group may organize literacy experiences in a way that provides a certain type of practice for the children of that group. The issue

we are attempting to shed light on is the degree to which the three cultural groups in this study provide different literacy-related practices for children. Differences in the frequency and organization of literacy events, in the contexts which give rise to such events, and in the functions for which literacy is used are being examined.

Findings to date have been analyzed only at a gross level. It has been noted, for example, that, in comparison with the other cultural groups, a significantly greater proportion of Anglo children's literacy events involve participation of an adult and that a significantly greater proportion of Black children's events involve the child by him- or herself. As for what specifically gets practiced in the literacy events of the different cultural groups and the nature of the contexts which give rise to the events, we hope to learn more from the microanalyses which are being conducted.

The functions which literacy serves for these low-income families seem on preliminary analyses to be very 'utilitarian'. When, for example, the adults read or write, it is generally for the purpose of doing something necessary for getting along in everyday life: finding out what programs are on television, making a shopping list, writing a check. There is very little work-related literacy, and for only one parent, the mother in Anglo Family 3, was reading typically an activity for relaxation and pleasure. The same can be said for the non-school related reading and writing of school-age siblings. In the second year of this study we are attempting to discover what effect this 'utilitarian orientation' has on our target children.

Conclusions

The conclusions memtioned should be viewed as emerging, somewhat tentative hypotheses. There is still considerable data collection and analysis which must be perfromed in this project. However, the following points from the observations will, in the upcoming year, be used to guide the work.

Of importance is the finding that there exists a great range in the home literacy environments of these low-income preschoolers. Materials in the ten homes differ in both type and amount. Certain children experience literacy events frequently; others, comparatively rarely. Thus, to attempt to generalize about the literacy background which low-income children bring to school with them would be misguided.

It is clear from the observations that income is not the factor which determines a child's literacy experiences. Income may be a factor in that families operating on limited budgets may not be able to supply many commercially produced literacy materials for their children; however, there are additional variables which affect the literacy socialization of young children. A child's literacy environment is a complex array of interdependent factors. The written language present in the home and the community is important for it determines the types of discourse with which the child will have practice. The uses of written language are important also. The contexts which give rise to literacy events, the ways in which these events are constructed in interaction, the frequency of events, the literacy levels of parents and older siblings, the motivational factors involved -- all form part of the child's literacy set.

The quality of the literacy environments of the ten children in this study does vary. In those homes the literacy environments would be characterized as most positive, we find parents who, in their daily interactions with their children where written language is involved, are effective at negotiating the child's zone of proximal development. Also in these homes literacy skills are practiced in everyday activities. For example, the construction of a shopping list or the baking of cookies would be occasions upon which the child participates in reading and writing rather than simply situations where the adult does all of the literacy work. Moreover, literacy situations in these homes are, on the whole, positive experiences for the children. Holdaway (1979) has stressed the centrality of motivational factors to developing a literacy set in preschool children. He contends that when children find rewards in literacy events with parents or siblings, they are impelled into further practice in reading and writing, both with others and by themselves. These positive feelings associated with literacy events are not merely affective, however. What typically happens in the 'literacy-rich' homes is that reading and writing involve both emotional and cognitive satisfaction. The child receives praise, attention, affection, and so forth and also participates in what she or he finds to be interesting intellectual work. Schickedanz (1978) has discussed the relationship between the affective and cognitive in story reading situations, concluding that "a story reading situation that is loaded with positive affect . . . is the same situation that is loaded with information for the child. . . . It may be that a child's affective tie to an adult is influenced by the adult's responsiveness to the child's cognitive needs" (p. 54). We hope that further analyses of literacy events in these homes will help us learn more about these points and bring additional

insight into the dynamics of 'rich' literacy environments.

As has been mentioned, we are attempting to tease out the factors which seem to promote literacy development in children and to identify the consequences of family and community literacy practices. Through extended observation we have gained insight into the socio-cultural practice of literacy in ten families. By continued work with these and additional families we hope to understand better the everyday literacy environments of low-income children in the United States.

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Table 1. Literacy Materials in Home Environments.

Anglo 1	Anglo 2	Anglo 3	Black 1	Black 2	Black 3	Chicano 1	Chicano 2	Chicano 3	Chicano 4
Father 27 Mother 22 *Boy 3.10 Girl 1.1	Father 30's Mother 25 *Girl 3.7 Girl 1.4	Father 24 Mother 22 *Girl 2.4	Father 25 Mother 25 *Girl 3. Boy 0.1	Father 31 Mother 30 Girl 6.9 *Girl 2.8	Father 38 Mother 32 Boy 15.8 Boy 11.7 Boy 4.8 *Girl 3.7	Father 32 Mother 32 Boy 6.5 Boy 4.7 *Boy 2.5	Mother 45 Father 3 *Boy 3.4	Father 30's Mother 28 Boy 11.4 Girl 8.10 Boy 5.11 Boy 4.10 *Girl 3.5	Mother 26 Girl 5.9 *Boy 2.9
Many children's books (at least 30, esp. Golden Books)	Many children's books (at least 50)	Several children's books (10-20)	Few children's books	Many children's books (20-30 for all children in family)	Few children's books (3 seen)	No children's books	Sesame Street Coloring Book	Only books brought home from school by older children	Many children's books (one box full for each child)
A few paperback (adult) novels	Approx. one dozen novels	Always a paperback or hardback novel around	No adult books	No adult books	Bible, Watchtower pamphlets	No adult books	A few old books (one E.S.L. book)	A few old books (few novels, mechanics books—some English, some Spanish). Several Spanish novelas.	Several adult books including dictionaries (English; English/Spanish) and books for courses, e.g., Real Estate, mother has taken
Few odd magazines	Onni (subscribe) Good Housekeeping (regular basis) Woman's magazines	Few odd magazines	Ebony on a regular basis	Ebony (subscription); a few Penthouse	A few old, odd magazines	Two women's magazines (in Spanish)	No magazines	No magazines	Odd copy or two of a magazine
TV Guide	TV Guide	TV Guide	TV Guide	TV Guide	TV listings pamphlet	Use newspaper listings for TV	No TV guides	Home Box Office guide	No TV guides
Newspaper (daily subscription)	No newspapers	No newspapers	Newspaper on a daily basis	No newspaper	No newspapers	Daily newspaper (in Spanish)	No newspapers	No newspapers	No newspapers
Typical labels on products, print on TV etc. Many items on toys.	Typical labels on products, etc. Print on TV often used for literacy learning	Typical labels on products, print on TV, etc.	Typical labels on products, print on TV, etc.	Typical labels on products, print on TV, etc.	Typical labels on products, print on TV, etc.	Typical labels on products, print on TV; majority in English, some in Spanish.	Typical labels on products, print on TV; majority in English, some in Spanish.	Typical labels on products, print on TV; majority in English, some in Spanish.	Typical labels on products, print on TV; majority in English some in Spanish
Typical mail advertisements, few personal letters.	Typical mail plus many personal letters sent and received.	Typical mail plus many personal letters sent and received.	Typical mail, advertisements. Never seen personal letter sent or received.	Typical mail, advertisements. Never seen personal letter sent received.	Typical mail, advertisements. Never seen personal letter sent or received.	Typical mail, advertisements. Never seen personal letter sent or received.	Typical mail, advertisements. Never seen personal letter sent or received.	Typical mail, advertisements, few personal letters received, sent.	Typical mail, advertisements, occasional personal letters sent.
Many T-shirts with print on them.	Many T-shirts with print on them.	Wallpaper with print on it.	A few T-shirts with print on them.	School books, papers, workbooks, library books. Flyers brought home by older children.	School books brought home by older children.	Flyers, school books brought home by older children.	Occasionally neighbor children will bring over basal readers.	Many flyers, books, workbooks brought home by older children from school.	Mother occasionally brings home workbook type things from her teacher's aide job.
	Many literacy-related toy kits, workbooks, etc.			Religious pamphlets	Wallpaper with print on it.	Calendar	5 calendars on walls	Avon catalogues (Mother sells Avon products)	
	Much writing paper crayons, pencils Magic erasable board.			Calendar on wall	Calendar on wall				

* Target Child

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